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WHY THE DEMOCRATS WON

New Republic

Has Eisenhower Joined McCarthy?

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

The Administration's reply to the damaging Wisconsin-New Jersey bi-election defeats is a retreat to McCarthyism. This presents a very ugly situation that requires cool handling. The nature and timing of Attorney-General Brownell's post-mortem denunciation of the late Harry Dexter White at Chicago looks, to this column, like a premature revelation of GOP plans for the 1954 campaign, started ahead of schedule to halt a threatened rout produced by two catastrophic election setbacks. A year after the Eisenhower landslide two GOP districts went Democrat for the first time in history. Something had to be done—quick.

It is our judgment that the GOP can't hold power by campaigning against Harry Dexter White, but a good deal will depend on where Democrats pick their line of defense. There is a special responsibility on liberals. McCarthy was aided immensely by denials that there was any Red activity in Washington; liberals have often helped him by refusing to face disagreeable facts. Truman's failure to take stern measures against subversives gave vital ground to the enemy. If this new, half-hysterical and premature GOP attack, countenanced by the White House, is met calmly and intelligently, we should think other solid factors in the political situation — economic and social — would continue Republicans toward their prospective defeat. If progressives and liberals try to defend too much, on the other hand, they may be caught in the trap hopefully set for them.

Significantly enough, the man in charge of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, Rep. Richard M. Simpson (Pa.), promptly declared the Brownell speech "further vindicated" McCarthy, and he called upon Joe for "still more intensive efforts." These will be made, all right, in next year's election. Another line is also appearing: to equate the 1,456 so-called "security risks" dropped by the Administration with subversives. It is necessary to make this false identification in order to keep popular anxiety aroused and McCarthyism well stoked up. Actually the reasons for firing "security risks" range widely: they may be drunks, or have untidy sex habits, or be the unfortunate possessors of the wrong parents — a wife's mother, let us say, who voted for the Progressive Party and is still unrepentant. Most of these people are obviously not Reds. Yet on the day of the Brownell speech Bernard M. Shanley, Special Counsel to President Eisenhower, was quoted as saying "1,456 *subversives* have been kicked out of government jobs since President Eisenhower assumed office." There is evidence of a coherent drive in all this, but we somehow don't think it will work; maybe it would defeat Harry Truman—but Truman isn't running.

We hope our man Eisenhower is good and careful on his trip to Canada this week; he will be in terrible danger. Radicalism is rampant north of the border. Eisenhower, who links the TVA with "creeping socialism" should be on guard. Canada runs its own coast-to-coast railway, its own broadcasting service, its international shipping system, uranium and synthetic rubber industries, power lines and many similar ventures. Worse than this, Canada attempts to hide its left-wing character by balancing its budget and having a dollar at a premium to the US dollar! This column is preparing to launch shortly a new organization, "The US Committee to Save Canada from Creeping (or Crawling) Socialism." We shall use force if necessary. For how can General Motors feel safe with practices like these just over the border?

Every right-thinking American knows that the only thing saving liberty in the USA is the 22nd Amendment, limiting a potential dictator to two terms in the White House. But the reckless Canadians let McKenzie King serve some 20 years and even now speak respectfully of him. Canada saps self-reliance with old-age pensions, baby-bonus laws and similar national legislation uncomfortable even to contemplate. Every US child knows that freedom would fall if Executive weren't separated from Legislative under a system that guarantees mutual antagonism. The audacious Canadians don't have such a system. What's more they have been cutting taxes.

Students at the University of Toronto burned McCarthy in effigy last week. Our horror at this act transcends description. It indicates persistence in Canada of a deplorable student interest in public affairs long since ejected from American schools. Once there were discussion groups in colleges below the border, too, but what graduate who hopes for a government job today wants to have on his record participation in such activities? Our high-spirited, red-blooded youth vents its robust feelings in "panty raids" on the co-ed dormitories, and the nation sleeps safe.

To get back to less serious matters, Russia delivered a note last week that concludes the summer's diplomatic correspondence. It shows pretty clearly that Moscow is not seriously prepared to negotiate with the Western community; instead Russia offered, in effect, to enter separate peace settlements with individual countries. Ending the Western community of defense was an implied Moscow condition. The Reds may perhaps really believe that the Western community is breaking up, supported by the evident reluctance of the US to sustain the burdens of foreign aid as well as its own domestic armaments.

Notes: A 2,300-word statement from the Presbyterian General Council charges that "truth is being subtly and silently dethroned by prominent public figures" and that "treason and dissent are being confused"; fine language, though we always wish people would name McCarthy direct.

Dulles' diplomatic tenure has been marked by a series of bold gambles; most have paid off, but Trieste was a reckless throw that failed.

If the Philippine election goes through without revolution it will be a heartening thing for democracy. Washington has fingers crossed.

Sooner or later Ike must choose between right and left wings of his party; he was humble at his last press conference when he said he was not a politician —but he must make up his mind.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Malenkov Closes Door

THE SOVIET note of November 3 closes the door to negotiations on Europe. It does not state that the Kremlin will not talk. But, as President Eisenhower noted, it sets impossible terms on all issues on which agreement had seemed possible. Russia will withdraw the Red Armies from East Germany but only if the entire defense system of the West is dismantled. Russia will consent to a unified Germany; but a Germany that is Communist-led. The note serves as the platform for the longest and sharpest attack yet made on American bases overseas. Bribes are offered, and thinly veiled threats advanced, to induce Britain and France to break with the United States and seek security in bilateral pacts with Moscow.

In the view of American experts publication of this note is not dictated by a change in the Soviet attitude. The note simply lays bare a change that has been shaping up slowly since early in 1953. Then, the Kremlin was anxious for negotiations. The Soviet Regime was insecure and casting around for support. It feared that the US might take advantage of its weakness in applying the *liberation* policy. It hoped that talks would confer upon the new regime a limited recognition and therefore a stamp of permanence.

Since then the new regime consolidated its grip on Russia. It has survived and suppressed the Berlin uprising. More important, it has had time to analyze the nature and direction of the Eisenhower Administration. There are clear indications that the Kremlin believes that the Eisenhower Administration is a weak one; unwilling to halt the depression that will weaken the free world, unable to prevent the drift to isolationism; incapable of holding together the coalition that Truman and Acheson built. Given these trends, it follows, in Kremlin eyes, that negotiations, compromises and agreements are unnecessary and undesirable since time is on the Soviet side.

For eight months the nations of Europe have been marking time. Britain has waited, entranced with Churchill's plan for a meeting of the heads of states. France has delayed ratification of the European Army until the meeting could take place. Belgium has prepared detailed plans for a settlement in Germany. The West German Government has offered as much as it could short of being charged with treason. Now the Russians throw over all these hopes. Agreement on Austria is tied to the extraneous issue of Trieste. Agreement on Germany is identified with a return to Potsdam. It is linked "inextricably" to the "liquidation" of bases not only in Western Europe but in Turkey, Greece and Spain and Iran; it is even tied to a five power conference to settle the claims of Communist China.

Europe, in other words, is once more on its own, and faced with the necessity of surviving by its own efforts in a divided world. Its best hope is still united defense in the European Army and so ratification of EDC should be the prompt reply of France and Italy to the Soviet note. But judging by the inspired statements of the foreign offices, the hope is forlorn.

New Fare for the *NR*

Beginning in next week's *New Republic*, Gerald W. Johnson, well-known critic, historian and *NR* contributor, will appear with a regular page of not-too-serious comment on current subjects of his own choosing.

Mr. Johnson is calling his page "The Superficial Aspect." Watch for it next week — and on alternate weeks thereafter.

Brownell Speaks

WORD that Attorney-General Herbert Brownell would substantiate his charges against Harry Truman brought every top reporter in Washington to the Department of Justice. It was the day before the special Congressional election in California. Brownell's statement would be important there.

The reporters came early. But Brownell drove away refusing to answer questions and as the afternoon dragged on and the last Eastern evening editions went to press without the story, the reporters began to understand.

When finally released the statement contained nothing new. It was given just in time to make the last editions California voters would read before going to the polls. And no embarrassing questions could be put to Brownell before the story was sent.

The press officer, on the spot Brownell had avoided, was asked one of those questions: Brownell had originally charged that Truman had knowingly promoted a spy; the new statement said only that a report on Harry Dexter White had been sent to Gen. Harry Vaughan—why? The press officer answered: "We mean just what we say; it's up to Truman to prove us wrong."

Spies

"MCCARTHY Hints of Spy Plot Hitting Whole Signal Corps"; "Witness Cracks, Bares Spy Ring at Radar Center."

These and many similar headlines emanated from Fort Monmouth, N. J., (where Joe McCarthy is playing his current engagement) during the past month. The impression he gave the press is that Monmouth is a hotbed of Communism and espionage. One newspaper — the *Washington Post* — probed behind the headlines. Its findings:

1. No one now employed or recently suspended from the Signal Corps Center has been accused of espionage.

2. Nineteen of the 31 civilians sus-

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pended between September 28 and October 28 do not know what they are accused of. Charges received by the others include allegations which go beyond anything yet dared by the proponents of "guilt by association."

3. Security investigations at Monmouth are continuous. McCarthy jumped in only after a few suspensions had been announced. His contribution thus far: headlines and vague charges.

One man suspended as a result of McCarthy's efforts has been reinstated. It was all a mistake. His name resembled someone else's.

One of McCarthy's "hottest leads," immediately given the press, concerned the testimony of a German, described as an "eminent scientist," that he had seen microfilms of Monmouth documents in East Germany. The description was changed to "technician" when it developed that the witness was 21 years old when he left East Germany. Actually the testimony was given last year. The FBI and others investigated the charges until March of this year then dropped them. The "eminent scientist" is reported working as a clerk in a West German PX.

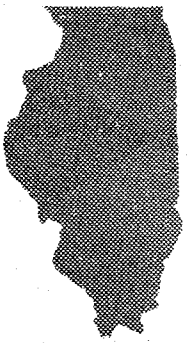
Charges placed against some of the suspended staff:

1. Membership in the American Veterans Committee. President Eisenhower is also a member.

2. Membership in the Federation of American Scientists. The Federation is an outgrowth of the Federation of Atomic Scientists, composed of the leading scientists in the development of the atomic bomb.

3. Failure to take "an active stand" against infiltration by "Communist sympathizers" of such groups as the above —a completely baffling charge.

Chicago's Conscience



Chicago, Ill.

NOVEMBER 3 was an important day in Cook County, Illinois, not because Republicans won upset victories in 8 out of 14 contested judicial elections. Nor because the 6 Democratic winners received more votes than the 8 Republicans and captured the 6 top places on the ticket. The importance of the day is rather in the record-shattering turnout of voters and the evidence of an increased civic consciousness among Chicagoans.

Voters are notoriously indifferent to judicial elections, and the voters of Cook County are no exception. Yet more than one million people—almost 50 percent of those registered—marked a ballot this time. And the candidates they elected were, to a man, those who had the best endorsements. All the victors had been recommended by the American Bar Association and various civic organizations.

The power of the independent voter was again demonstrated. Republicans and Democrats came out in almost equal numbers. The independents cast the crucial votes.

The election revealed two strong new personalities, men who will very probably play an increasingly important role in Illinois politics: Richard Austin, Democrat, the Assistant State's Attorney who distinguished himself in the Moretti case, and Walker Butler, a Republican state Senator with a respectable record.

Overconfident

Philadelphia, Pa.

LESS THAN 55 percent of the registered voters bothered about going to the polls—and as a result the Republicans won every office at stake in Philadelphia's off-year elections by majorities ranging from 8,000 to 12,000 votes. Not one of these offices is of any great significance—the most important one being that of City Controller—and all but one of the incumbents had been Republicans anyway. But the first Republican victory in the city since 1947 became inevitably a severe setback for the reform administration of Mayor Joseph S. Clark Jr. and District Attorney Richardson Dilworth whose four-year term is approaching the midway mark.

There is no simple explanation for this sudden turn of the tide in the city which made national headlines last year by giving Stevenson a 160,000-vote margin in the midst of the Eisenhower landslide. Democratic overconfidence was

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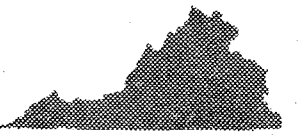
probably the largest single factor. The Democrats received only 280,000 votes as compared to 554,000 last year and 445,000 in the Mayoralty election two years ago.

The election was fought exclusively on local issues. One of them was the Bar Association stipulated principle that "sitting judges"—regardless of whether they were previously appointed or elected—should not be opposed when endorsed as qualified for judicial office by the bar. The Democrats, flushed with their five-year series of victories, tried to upset this local tradition in order to oust some of Governor Fine's recent Republican appointees. The attempt backfired when the bar-organized "Non-Partisan Committee for the Election of Sitting Judges" reminded Mayor Clark and the Democratic Party that they themselves had successfully invoked the principle 15 years ago when some Democratic judges appointed by the then Governor Earle came up for election.

Of much greater political significance, the Republicans made the record of the Clark-Dilworth administration the principal issue. Their campaign slogan—"What did you get for $47 million more?"—made the most of the fact that Clark had had to impose new taxes to finance improved municipal services. The Mayor and the District Attorney were forced to accept the challenge under the most unfavorable of circumstances. There has been in recent months constant strife between the Democratic regulars and the Clark-Dilworth independents. The party organization has been furious about the rigid enforcement of the merit system in all city offices. Job hungry ward leaders and committeemen have publicly attacked the Mayor for denying them the spoils of victory. Despite this, Clark and Dilworth decided to drape the mantle of their prestige over an organization-dictated slate of mediocrities and party hacks. To their sorrow they found that the 200,000 independents who swept them into office two years ago refused to ride the tail of a shabby coat and stayed home.

Whether Clark and Dilworth lost last Friday a skirmish or a battle will depend on whether they recapture their role as uncompromising leaders in the continuing fight for good liberal government. Dilworth's chance of becoming the party's gubernatorial nominee next year and of winning lies there.

Byrd's Best Was Barely Enough



Richmond, Va.

FOR THE first time in some 20 years, Sen. Harry Byrd had to go down into the precincts and ask the voters, as a personal favor, to help elect his man Governor of Virginia.

The Commonwealth's restricted electorate gave Thomas B. Stanley, of Stanleytown, the Byrd machine candidate, about 55 percent of the 410,000 votes cast. Stanley, a cautious, colorless furniture manufacturer, who considers himself a friend of the working man because he recently granted his employees vacations with pay, got the best the "organization" could deliver. He also got help from normally anti-Byrd Negroes (70 percent of the Negro vote went for Stanley), and from the small farmers, who are angry at anything Republican because of the Eisenhower Administration's "disaster only and even then too late" program. The former Congressman needed it all.

His Republican opponent, Theodore Roosevelt Dalton, an able, personable lawyer and state Senator from Radford, Va., knew his way on the hustings. For a state in which the average percentage Republican vote in the 11 past gubernatorial contests is 28.7, his 45 percent in the November 3 election was spectacular. It was the biggest Republican vote in a state contest in Virginia's history. Dalton got help from anti-Byrd Democrats; Francis P. Miller, a leader of the anti-organization faction, said Dalton's program was very similar to the Miller program. He got help from labor; the Republican carried many precincts in industrialized areas.

Dalton carried many suburban areas, and this more than anything else has the organization scared. Already, it has started to slide to the left to try to bring these young voters back. Said A. E. S. Stephens, re-elected Lieutenant-Governor, the election is "a warning to the Democratic organization to broaden its horizons."

The pressure of the Dalton assault forced Stanley and the organization to make commitments for much more liberal state policies than the "company" has ever supported before. The 1954 General Assembly, as a result, probably will give the people a chance to vote on simple poll-tax repeal. The absent-voters law will be changed to remove possibilities of fraud. Funds for teacher salaries and operation of the mental hospitals will be greatly increased. To pay off the Negro voters, some type of change probably will be made in the state's rigid segregation laws.

Despite the size of the GOP vote, there are no signs that the party is really taking root. Dalton took Roanoke County, but an anti-organization Democrat was named to the legislature from the county. Dalton carried the Tenth District, in northern Virginia, but Democrats took all 11 local contests in the district. The size of the Republican delegation in the 100-member House of Delegates dropped from six to five.

Of the three Congressional districts that sent Republicans to Congress when the state went for Eisenhower, Dalton carried two: the Tenth and his home district, the Sixth. The reversal in the Ninth District indicates the antagonism on the cattle farms of this southwestern arm of the state against the Republican farm policy. It offers a good chance for recapture by the Democrats of a Congressional seat.

The Democrats also stand a good chance next year of recapturing the Tenth, assuming that a progressive candidate, perhaps from among the organization's Young Turks, can be found to run.

In general, the Democratic candidates who did best were those who did not follow Senator Byrd when in 1952 he tacitly endorsed the Republican Presidential nominee. Stephens, who campaigned for Adlai Stevenson in the state, got about 58 percent of the vote in his bid for re-election. William F. Carter, a Stevenson campaign aide, knocked out one of the organization's leaders in the legislature. The two Stevenson supporters on the Democrat slate for Richmond's delegation to the Assembly led the ticket.

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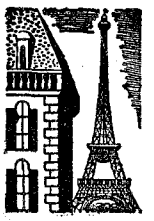
Paris Dispatch: DOODLES AND HISTORY

Sir Winston Churchill is back in the headlines and the atmosphere in Western Europe is a whole lot more cheerful. There's a certain amount of cause and effect in the connection. For Sir Winston has become the symbol of daring as well as of patience and persistence in negotiations with the Soviet Union. And though Moscow's eagerness for diplomatic exchanges has become increasingly doubtful, "many peoples of Europe," as the *London Times* points out, "pin their hopes on these exchanges, if only because there is nowhere else that hopes can be pinned."

For the Western Europeans at this juncture of their history the most important value is life itself. And at a time when their anciently glorious living space shrinks humanly from the implications of being fringed by the emplacements for launching atomic and hydrogen weapons, only peace can assure life. Sweden is a neutral country, one of the few in Europe unlikely to have such emplacements. But Sweden is not a neutral, nor is the Nobel Prize committee neutral (as William Faulkner suggested in his 1949 speech of acceptance) in the war of man against himself. So its leaders have the right to speak of eternal human values, plainly implying that Sir Winston's attitude toward daring negotiations to prevent the use of nuclear weapons in the "defense of peace" played a perhaps determinant part in choosing him for a "literary" prize.

The rumors are that if Sir Winston decides to go personally to Stockholm to receive the prize, he may also be going to meet Georgi Malenkov in the Swedish capital or in Helsinki or at some secret rendezvous close to the Soviet border—or even beyond it. The rumors first came during the London conference of the big three foreign ministers, when many of the leading newspapers both in England and on the Continent recognized that things which were unreported at (or from) the conference might be more important than those said or done.



Then the rumors gained strength when the Prime Minister, appearing in Commons for the first time since his illness, renewed once again the assurance that he hadn't given up his desire for a top-level four-power meeting, though "in all international affairs it is well to remember that there is a limit to what can be done by one government." More significant, he carefully parried—but didn't deny—suggestions that he might go alone to meet Malenkov, and might do it "very soon."

Secretary Dulles said that the London conference was the most important he had attended since taking office. Whatever he may have meant—and he didn't explain clearly enough to be understood over here—Western European opinion has its own reasons for considering the meeting to have had importance. Whether or not Sir Winston dares to go to meet Malenkov alone the conference has in fact started a period in which what the semi-official French news agency calls "a return to traditional diplomacy" may replace psychological warfare and sterile propaganda dueling.

Another significant fact about the conference was that it was the first at which Dulles, too, seemed to recognize the limits that one government—the American—can do. He spent much less time—at the sessions and in public—talking, either for European, or for Soviet, or for domestic US consumption. He listened more; and he deliberately—even ostentatiously—occupied himself at some of the sessions with making doodles. One of these read: "President wants peace."

The problem now, as Western Europe sees it, is to find the diplomacy that will make this doodle worth more in point of deeds than all the millions of brilliant words written and spoken by this year's Nobel Prize winner. For Europe, too, wants peace because peace alone means life.

The relations between the Foreign Office, the quai d'Orsay and the State Department are the better for the London conference. Whether the improvement can be made also in the level of the peoples depends in part at least on whether Dulles is really willing to understand that peace by diplomacy is now the supreme human value for millions of men and women helpless between the Soviet and the US hydrogen bomb emplacements.

Foreign minister Anthony Eden may be willing to talk the old language of psychological warfare because he needs to entrench himself, after long absence, in his old job. Georges Bidault may accept the old position on the EDC because he sees a chance of becoming, at the December election of the National Assembly, the successor to Vincent Auriol as president of France.

But for the peoples, even for the very many who favor the EDC, a military solution is no longer good enough. That is why—or part of the reason why—so many Western Europeans were surprised to learn that the three foreign ministers at London had yielded to Konrad Adenauer's demand for removing any mention of Russian security from the communique, on the ground that it might delay French ratification of the European Defense Community.

The *Express* of London found this "astonishing," the *Monde* of Paris considered it "shocking." In between his doodles, Dulles was able to say the few words that vetoed Churchill's plan for a four-power meeting of heads of state, that confirmed the veto power of the head of the West German government over what—it is increasingly obvious—is the will of a majority of the peoples of Britain and France.

Political negotiations for the prevention of war must at least go hand in hand, parallel with equally high priority—the making of a German and/or—in a European army against aggression. If not by Churchill's method, they must be conducted by *some* method—and certainly not by doodling. Moreover, the ratification of an EDC blueprinted before the Russians exploded their hydrogen bomb may be, in the European view, less urgent than a re-examination of the kind of European army (or armies) headed for the *prevention* of the kind of war that would destroy the eternal human values.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial: Has Eisenhower Joined McCarthy?

TEN MONTHS ago, in his Inaugural Address, Dwight Eisenhower proclaimed his faith in "the deathless dignity of Man." Ten months later, McCarthyism—the denial of Man's dignity—is enshrined in the home of Lincoln, Wilson and Roosevelt. The candidate who promised to honor the office of the Presidency has set out, in a war of headlines, to impugn the honor and patriotism of the man whose place he took.

The first charge leveled at Truman, with Eisenhower's full endorsement, concerns a dead man, Harry Dexter White. His secret role was told five years ago by Elizabeth Bentley. So far the Attorney-General has added only innuendoes to Miss Bentley's story. He asserts that information concerning White was available early in his government career which began in 1934. Yet the first FBI report Brownell cites is dated November, 1945. He claims, without evidence, that Truman knew of White's activities when he sent to the Senate White's nomination to a post in the International Monetary Fund. Pressed for proof, Brownell submits no evidence whatever, even in his second statement, that the FBI report was ever put in Truman's hands, stating only that it was given to such Communist-coddlers as Admiral Leahy, James V. Forrestal, Fred Vinson and James F. Byrnes.

In all this Brownell is on dangerous ground. He imputes knowledge to Truman without proof, which bears on the former President's patriotism. He does this although Eisenhower himself has stated that the President cannot keep track of government personnel. Brownell protests further that Truman "allowed" the Senate to confirm White's nomination although "there was no reason why the Senate could not be informed of the established fact that White was a spy." Yet the "fact" was not "established" in January, 1946, and had it been, the Executive would have been unready, and the FBI totally unwilling to share the knowledge with the Senate and therefore with the press and the public.

There can be little doubt that White was guilty of the actions described by Miss Bentley. It seems certain, as Brownell states, that these actions were set forth in an FBI report sent to the White House desk of General Harry Vaughan. There, a responsible investigation may disclose, the report rested, not by design, but by incompetence or oversight. Truman states that he has no recollection of the report and, in the absence of proof, it is fitting to accept a former President's word.

The charge that the President consciously placed a Soviet agent in a key position is too explosive to be fought out in the newspapers, and too damaging to be presented without proof.

If the truth is to be determined, then the proper place is before a grand jury and not in newspaper headlines. If the government has the evidence to support its charge against a former President, it should convene a grand jury; if not, it should offer an abject apology to Truman and the American people.

Eisenhower claims that Brownell is doing his duty as Attorney-General in seeking to blacken Truman's name. No one surely is deceived. Every honest Republican knows that the charge is political in origin, political in timing and presentation, and purely political in the purpose it is intended to serve. It was conceived during the 1952 campaign when Eisenhower was charging the Democrats with softness towards Communism. The Democrats answered then that Eisenhower's claim that Communist infiltration was still a problem was a reflection on the competence of the FBI. Eisenhower wanted to charge then that the FBI had played its part, but that its reports were ignored by Administration leaders. He was hampered by lack of evidence. When he took power, he instructed all agencies of government to get the evidence, so that it might be turned to political use.

Brownell's attack on Truman is the first fruit of this long-planned and concerted effort. And Brownell has made it plain that if this attack is well received many more will follow. This is the disturbing aspect of the story. For Brownell's coming campaign, despite its derisive and destructive impact, is not directed to any current problem, or any plan for affirmative action. The truth is as Brownell well knows that no further action is necessary because the job has long since been done.

Of course there were Communists in government as there were in the Army, in the Carnegie Foundation, in the Dewey administration, and around Mr. Eisenhower. They came in with the depression, and they went out with the Cold War. Certainly they were treated casually in the days when 10 Russian boys were dying for every American boy in a common cause. And certainly that was a mistake. The mistake has been reviewed to the point of exhaustion in thousands of hearings. It was recognized soon after the Grand Alliance broke up. The problem of Communist infiltration was resolved long before Eisenhower's Administration; the evil was less the inadequacies as the abuses of the loyalty program.

History we believe will treat Harry Truman with more respect than most of his critics in regard to Communism. The danger in Truman's term of office was overseas. When Truman moved to meet the danger—of hungry desperate peoples—he was met by the violent opposition

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of most Republicans. Future generations will rejoice that he, and not his adversaries, was in the White House in those years. Beyond this, we believe objective inquiry will prove that Truman never consciously promoted a Communist agent. It will indicate that he moved slowly and quietly to remove from government officials suspected of Communist activity. And before Truman is condemned for this by politicians blessed with hindsight, it is worth remembering that the climate in which Truman governed was very different from today. In the days when Truman is accused of softness toward Communism John Foster Dulles was declaring that there was much in common between Communism and Christianity, while Eisenhower asserted on August 14, 1945:

"I see nothing in the future that would prevent Russia and the US from being the closest possible friends."

The true nature of Brownell's charge is fully demonstrated by the wind-up of his speech. Brownell knew as he spoke that 6,644,496 civil servants had been checked for loyalty and security by the Truman Administration; that 25,748 had been subjected to a full FBI field investigation, that 444 had been severed from government on security grounds and 14,904 permitted to resign. Thousands upon thousands of pages of hearings, findings and actions by the government's Loyalty Boards lay in Brownell's files as he spoke. Yet, in a conclusion as false in nature as it is political in intent, Brownell asserts:

> When no attention was paid to so great a danger as the espionage activities of Harry Dexter White you can imagine how little notice was given to Communist Party members, Communist propagandists and Communist fellow-travelers in government. That is the reason why the problem of weeding out from the ranks of government employees persons who are dangerous to the national security is so great a problem.

This is the Big Lie to which the Eisenhower Administration has committed itself. For the sake of this Big Lie Eisenhower has subordinated the national interest to what he conceives to be his party's good.

Eisenhower is coming close to misuse of the FBI files. Always until this Administration FBI evaluations have been held in strictest secrecy. Obviously that secrecy is vital to the integrity and self-discipline of the FBI. Now its evaluations are leaked for partisan ends. The report cited in the case of Harry White is old and familiar. But at the heart of Brownell's continuing campaign to prove that FBI reports were ignored is a willingness to open the FBI files. From that point on, it is one short step to political use of the FBI. Eisenhower should remember that in this knife fight, the weapon he is fingering is double-edged. If the Republicans use the FBI under guise of clarifying its role, so can the Democrats. They need only assert now, for example, that Republican officials take bribes and keep mistresses. Then, when they regain office, the lock will be picked, the safe open, the way cleared to publicize FBI reports on scores of Republican leaders who like most men have made mistakes. Once the precedent of political use of the FBI is set, there is no end to its application. The FBI then becomes what this nation must dread and resist—a secret political police.

By endorsing Brownell's charges, Eisenhower is further compromising the respect in which the United States is held abroad. It is necessary to think of how Churchill would recoil in scorn from the proposal that he use the instrument of Scotland Yard to smear the record in office of his predecessor, let alone his Chief of State, to realize how appalled and disheartened our allies must be by what Eisenhower and Brownell have done.

Thirdly, by launching a sustained personal attack on a former head of the Democratic Party, Eisenhower makes it impossible for the Democrats in Congress who believe in much of his program to give him support. In throwing out their support he endangers those parts of his program that are sound.

There are 218 Republicans and 215 Democrats in the House of Representatives, 47 Democrats and 48 Republicans in the Senate. Fifty-eight times in the 1953 sessions of Congress the Democrats saved Eisenhower's legislative program from defeat at the hands of his own party. On forty-eight percent of all issues the Democrats supported the Republican President in his pleas for legislation.

Eisenhower cannot hope to retain the support of men he slanders. Instead, by aggressive action against the Democrats, he hopes to make himself a "good" Republican, thus leading a united party in 1954. But this effort to purchase party unity at the price of national unity is futile. The Republican Right is not to be appeased. Even while Brownell was moving onto McCarthy's platform, McCarthy was moving on. The Republican Right will settle for nothing less than McCarthy's most recent claim: that America can win the Cold War without firing a shot—by cutting off every penny of foreign aid.

If Eisenhower sets out in pursuit of these men, he will disappear into the darkness. Long before then, he will sacrifice the one source of support that he must have—the independent vote. For this group will retain a capacity for idealism, even if Eisenhower cannot.

TRUMAN may be hurt, but his record as President will stand. The loser will be Eisenhower in the end. He set out to heal political sores; instead he reopens old wounds. He hoped to unite this nation in great endeavors; instead he divides it over mean pursuits. The independents who elected him will not follow him down his new road. They felt a debt of gratitude to the officer who liberated Europe. They believed the civilian who gained his party's nomination in the name of the middle way. They responded to the candidate who promised to govern for all the nation. They hope still that good will reaffirm itself in a man who at heart remains good. But for the politician who sets as his highest objective the perpetuating of his party's grip on power, they will hold nothing but contempt.

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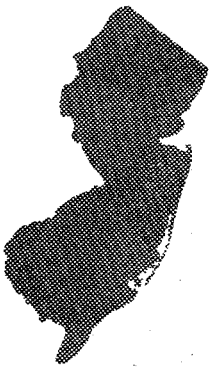
Why the Democrats Won

I. *New Jersey – Crime and Corruption*



IF LAST week's Democratic victory in New Jersey is generally held to be a serious political setback to the Administration—a view held by no less an authority than Leonard W. Hall, Chairman of the Republican National Committee—Republican leaders have no one to blame but themselves. Their blunder, most observers believe, including some of Eisenhower's advisers, was to risk the President's prestige as a vote-getter (he carried New Jersey by 360,000 votes last year) in an election in which the dominant issues were crime, corruption and legalized bingo. Whatever may be said now by other Republican leaders about the purely local complexion of the New Jersey election, Eisenhower himself has conceded that there was a skirmish there, and that he lost it. The question he may well be asking himself is whether he wouldn't have been better off avoiding any skirmishing at all on the unsettled political terrain of New Jersey.

The chronology of Eisenhower's involvement in the New Jersey campaign shows a good deal of vacillation and something less than a firm grasp of political strategy. On September 30 the President told a press conference that, as he had often stated before, he would not take part in any local campaigns. Some Republican leaders in New Jersey, convinced that the gubernatorial election was in the bag anyway for their candidate, Paul L. Troast, were inclined to take the President at his word, but two days later they were again pressing hard for a public Presidential endorsement. What made such an endorsement seem imperative was the embarrassing revelation that Troast had, in 1951, written a compromising letter to Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York. In it, Troast, who is a wealthy Passaic contractor and the chairman of the New Jersey Turnpike Authority, urged Dewey to pardon Joseph Fay, a labor racketeer serving a long term in Sing Sing for conspiring to extort $368,000 from contractors working on a New York City water-supply project.

Early in October, Eisenhower flew to Atlantic City to address the United Council of Church Women, and Troast's backers decided to make the most of the occasion. When the Chief Executive arrived, Troast was waiting to greet him, flanked by nervous politicians who were terrified that the President might refuse even to shake their candidate's hand. As it turned out, they didn't have to worry. Eisenhower not only wished Troast good luck, but posed with him for photographers. (To the embarrassment of some of Eisenhower's supporters, many of the photographs also featured the beaming countenance of State Sen. Frank S. "Hap" Farley, the Republican boss of Atlantic City. Farley, as several Republican newspapers recalled, had left the country to avoid testifying before the Kefauver Committee when it was looking into gambling and corruption.)

Less than a week before the election, Eisenhower appeared to be backtracking on his casual endorsement of Troast. He told a press conference that, at the time he had gone to Atlantic City, he hadn't known about the Fay letter. Troast's backers, seriously disturbed by the implication that if he *had* known about Fay the President wouldn't have shaken hands with their man, began putting in frantic calls to Washington. The next day James Hagerty, the President's press secretary, issued a clarifying statement. He said that not only did Eisenhower favor the election of Republican Congressional candidates, but of every Republican running anywhere for any office. He made it clear that this category included Troast. The matter rested there until the day after the election, when Eisenhower appeared to have had some second—or third or fourth—thoughts about the advisability of giving blanket endorsements to all Republican candidates. He told reporters that, to merit the President's backing, a man standing for public office should have a clean record. This has been interpreted by some politicians as a warning that in the future the President will be more choosy about the people he poses with.

AS A RESULT of the Republicans' insistence on trying to make New Jersey a proving ground for the Administration's popularity, the Democrats are now in a position to hail the results as evidence of a deep anti-Republican groundswell. Such claims are unquestionably good for the morale of party workers, but even Democrats concede privately that they have little basis in fact. The reason the Democrats won, they realize, is that the voters were fed up with corruption under a Republican state administration that had been firmly in the saddle since 1940.

The corruption issue on which the New Jersey Democrats shrewdly capitalized—they even borrowed a well-tested device from the 1952 Republican campaign and handed out bars of soap with wrappers inscribed "Clean Up the Mess in Trenton"—was handed to them in 1951 by the Kefauver Committee. Kefauver has still not been forgiven by some Democrats for his morbid concern with crime and corruption in Democratic strongholds like Cook County, Illinois, but in New Jersey could not very

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well be charged with disloyalty to his party. Bergen County, the scene of his investigations, is one of the most solidly Republican counties of the United States. Kefauver demonstrated that it had also become, with the connivance of officials responsible for enforcing the laws against gambling—all of them Republicans—the headquarters of some of the country's biggest bookmaking syndicates. As the results of last week's balloting show, this revelation paid off handsomely for the Democrats: Bergen County, which Eisenhower carried in 1952 by 120,000 votes, gave Troast a plurality of only 4,500.

During the campaign the Democrats also spent a lot of time discussing bingo. In New Jersey bingo is both illegal and popular, particularly with Catholic priests, veterans' organizations and volunteer firemen. Early this year the Republicans reluctantly consented to a referendum on a constitutional amendment permitting the state legislature to legalize bingo. Robert B. Meyner, New Jersey's Governor-elect, charged repeatedly during the campaign that, in view of the Republican Party's traditional and deplorable prejudice against bingo, no Republican Administration could be trusted to put through the necessary enabling legislation required by the amendment. "Without bingo the volunteer fire companies will lose their principal source of revenue," he warned a group of firemen early in the campaign. "The Republicans have cut off the bread of life from the volunteers." Legalized bingo appears to have triumphed in last week's election—the amendment was approved by a three-to-one margin—but Meyner will now have to persuade the state legislature to pass the required enabling act. This may not be easy since, despite Meyner's election by a whopping plurality of 154,000 votes, the legislature is still controlled, as it has been since 1914, by Republicans.

QUITE APART from its undeniable propaganda value, the Democratic victory in New Jersey is of real importance to the party's national leadership. For one thing, the Democrats have picked up another seat in Congress as a result of the election of a Democrat in New Jersey's Sixth District, which has been represented by a Republican since the district was created in 1932. Possibly more significant, from a long-range point of view, is the fact that, for the first time since Frank Hague got control of the Democratic Party in New Jersey in 1919, liberals are in effective control of the party and state machinery. Under New Jersey's new state constitution, the Governor has tremendous patronage power, including the right to appoint virtually all judges and law enforcement officials in the state. Meyner, a firm Fair Dealer, can probably be counted on to use this power to strengthen the party's liberal wing. During the campaign Republicans made much of the fact that Meyner was backed by Mayor John V. Kenny of Jersey City, a big-city Democratic boss who has been prominently featured in recent investigations of racketeering on the Jersey City waterfront. But many of Meyner's supporters feel certain that, in view of his overwhelming victory, the new Governor can afford to lay down the law to Kenny.

Actually, Meyner's closest political associates are comparative newcomers in politics who have been trying, since Frank Hague was unhorsed in 1949, to reconstruct the state's Democratic organization along liberal lines. They include Joseph McLean, a Princeton professor who headed the Volunteers for Stevenson in New Jersey; Dwight Palmer, a manufacturer who was Stevenson's chief fund raiser; and Archibald Alexander, a former Under-Secretary of the Army who was largely responsible for the adoption of the strong civil-rights plank in the 1948 Democratic platform on which Truman was re-elected. Meyner, incidentally, had the enthusiastic support of New Jersey's CIO leaders, although the state AFL Council, for the first time in its history, refused to endorse a candidate. Many AFL leaders came out openly for Troast, or at least backed him privately, for reasons which were made perfectly clear a few days before the election by Joseph T. Ambrose, a Newark AFL leader. Ambrose, apparently not realizing that three newspaper reporters were in the room, told a group of his followers that, although he was a lifelong Democrat, he had come out for Troast because of "what Paul did for his friend and our friend—Joe Fay."

Off-year Congressional elections often provide, as in Wisconsin last month, a more accurate indication of national political trends than is likely to be furnished by a gubernatorial election. The unexpected victory of a Fair Deal Democrat in New Jersey's Sixth Congressional District has, not surprisingly, been hailed by Stephen Mitchell, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, as a clear sign of "a significant loss of confidence in the GOP." While Mr. Mitchell's point may not be altogether well taken, it is true that the Republicans did their best to convert the election into a vote of confidence in Eisenhower.

This theme was stressed in GOP campaign literature and on posters, where Eisenhower's name invariably was more prominently displayed than that of the Republican candidate, George L. Hetfield. A week before the election Leonard Hall came up from Washington to address a Republican rally in Elizabeth, the district's largest city. "There is nothing we'd like to see better than the election of Paul Troast as Governor and of George L. Hetfield . . . as Congressman," he said. "And the way to bring that about is for every man and woman in New Jersey who believes in the Eisenhower cause to spend every waking moment from now until election day working to achieve the results we all want."

Despite the efforts of Hall and of a group of former Volunteers for Eisenhower who came up from Washington toward the end of the campaign to campaign for Hetfield, the election was in no sense a referendum on Administration policies. Some Republicans, including the editor and publisher of the district's most influential newspaper, the *Elizabeth Daily Journal*, denounced the

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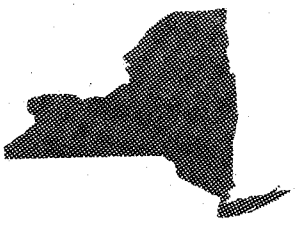
injection of Eisenhower's record into the campaign as a completely irrelevant issue. Many people, only partly in jest, have even interpreted the election of Harrison A. Williams Jr., the Democratic candidate, as a *victory* for the Administration, since Williams repeatedly pledged himself to support the most controversial elements of the Administration program, while his opponent spent most of his time talking about reducing taxes, discontinuing foreign aid and fighting Communism. Some general dissatisfaction with the way things are going in Washington undoubtedly contributed to Williams' election, but other factors appear to have been far more significant. One factor was a good deal of local resentment at the high-handed tactics of the district's Republican boss, a man named Benninger who has been called a Republican Frank Hague. Another, and probably the most important, was the landslide proportions of Meyner's victory; Meyner carried the 6th Congressional District by 14,000 votes, while Harrison Williams only barely squeaked through with a plurality of less than 2,000.

Whatever the political significance of the New Jersey election, there is one conclusion that the Republican high command would seem justified in drawing: namely, that they could do with a new pre-election polling service. On October 28, Research Associates, Inc., a public-relations firm that was active in the Eisenhower campaign in 1952 and was retained to give Troast a hand in New Jersey, announced that a Republican victory on election day was absolutely certain. The forecast was based on an analysis of the amount of newspaper space devoted to the two candidates in 29 New Jersey dailies. "This research," Research Associates announced, "is based on the assumption that the press tends to reflect the public opinion accurately. . . . The most significant single fact of mid-October is that despite Democratic gains, which were significant, Troast maintained his over-all lead. . . . This confirms the prediction we made last week that Troast is going to be the next Governor." A number of Republican newspapers, reflecting public opinion, printed the handouts, but it didn't seem to help Troast.

II. *New York – Magic Names and High Spirits*



THE NEW YORK CITY election this year was predominantly a municipal campaign in which voters expressed their feelings on national affairs.

Like the young lady from the Bronx said within earshot: "Acourse I'm gonna vote for a Democrat. One year we have a Republican President and already I have to stand on line for a bottle of milk."

Robert F. Wagner Jr. was elected Mayor of New York City with a plurality of 360,078 votes as the New Deal candidate. One million and twenty one thousand voters turned to the Democratic Party line to cast their ballots for a tradition called Roosevelt-Lehman-Wagner.

The 43-year-old son of the famous Senator entered the Democratic primary this Spring as the New Deal candidate against Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri. The struggle among the county machines—with Flynn and deSapio (Bronx and New York counties) backing Wagner against Roe, Sutherland and Sullivan (Queens, Kings and Richmond counties) backing Impellitteri—was subordinated in the public view to the battle between New Dealers and conservatives. Wagner's two-to-one New Deal victory in the primary gave him a lift that he continued to exploit in the final campaign with the very active assistance of New Dealers Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., Averell Harriman, Adlai Stevenson and Harry S. Truman. Implicitly, Wagner was running against Eisenhower—and Wagner won!

The final count gave Wagner 46 percent of the vote; the Republican candidate for Mayor, Harold Riegelman, got 30 percent of the vote; the Liberal-Independent candidate, Rudolph Halley, got 21 percent. The true strength of New Deal sentiment in New York City is, by current count, far greater than the 46 percent of the vote cast for Wagner. Rudolph Halley, an independent Democrat, running on the tickets of the Liberal Party and the improvised Independent Party, voiced a fervent Stevensonian position. Total New Deal strength, in the municipal campaign, added up to about 67 percent of the vote cast.

Forecasts of a large, even winning, vote for Halley—who was elected as President of the New York City Council two years ago as a Liberal and Independent against both Democratic and Republican nominees—shifted quickly after Wagner's victory in the primary and after Wagner's success in getting Impellitteri—also a Democrat—ruled off the ballot. Running as an "anti-machine" liberal against a New Deal Democrat, Halley was still able to poll 430,000 votes: the largest vote ever cast for a Liberal Party candidate for Mayor.

The New York City results augur well for the Democrats in the upcoming state and Congressional elections next year. If the 67 percent of the vote cast for "liberal" candidates—Wagner and Halley—stands solid next year in the gubernatorial contest, where both Democratic and Liberal Parties generally coalesce on a candidate, the margin of victory in New York City alone should be sufficient to overcome normally Republican Upstate New York. Democratic chances are further enhanced by a Democratic victory in Buffalo, second largest city in New York State, where a Democrat ousted a Republican administration that had held office for eight years. In other areas of the state, too, the political pendulum swung to the Democrats: Republican leads were cut in traditional GOP strongholds; Democratic leads were in-

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creased in traditionally Democratic cities like Albany; in minor cities, Democrats turned out the Republicans.

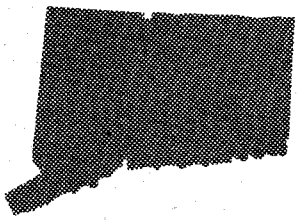
The names that have most prominently come to the fore in New York State politics as a result of these developments are Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. for Governor in 1954; Averell Harriman or Paul Fitzpatrick as new National Committeeman to succeed the late Ed Flynn. (Jim Farley's name has been lost in the New Deal din.)

As a by-product of the municipal campaign, the admitted trouble that the GOP is in this year has been compounded in New York State. Acting Lieutenant-Governor Arthur Wicks (R) was proven, during the campaign, to have been a frequent visitor to labor leader Joey Fay, serving a term in Sing Sing for extortion. Governor Dewey demanded, as the pressure mounted, that Wicks step down as Acting Lieutenant-Governor and as Senate Majority leader. Wicks agreed to the first step, but rejected the second. He tried to do a slick Dick on TV and then decided to fight for his Senate post. This leaves the GOP in the state with a nasty internal battle on its hands. Wicks is threatening to use his key position in the state legislature to block reapportionment by the GOP this year, thereby making it possible for the Republican Party to lose the state legislature.

Greatest fear of the Democrats, as they face '54, is their greatest victory of the moment: New York City. Should Wagner be unable to shake his Administration loose from the Tammany grip, Governor Dewey might once more assume his role of crime-buster to unearth skullduggery in Gotham. New York's precarious financial position at the very edge of bankruptcy could give Dewey the necessary excuse to "investigate" the Metropolis. For many years, Dewey is said to have enjoyed an understanding with New York City Democrats that they would not work too hard against the GOP in the state in return for which the GOP in the state would not be too active against the Democrats in the city. If Wagner's election means that this *entente cordiale* is ended, then New York may soon be treated to brass knuckle politics, maybe even a return of the two-party system in the Empire State.

The ALP died Election Day, 1953, in New York. Vito Marcantonio resigned as State Chairman and as a member. Its vote was 2½ percent of the total cast.

III. *Connecticut—Democrats Young and United*



CONNECTICUT held a series of elections in several smaller cities and towns in October and another set of elections in the larger cities November 3. In October, the Democrats scored upsets in the key towns of Torrington, Bristol, East Haven and West Haven, the last being particularly disturbing to the Old Guard since it went Democratic for the first time in 20 years and by a large plurality. In spite of national comments following the elections, political observers were not willing to label the results "a groundswell."

Then came November 3. New Haven elected young Dick Lee as Mayor. The Republican, William Celentano, was making a bid for his fourth consecutive term. A Democratic Board of Aldermen landslid in. In Hartford, State Democratic Chairman John Bailey made a move, unique as it was bold, to put up a slate of Democrats in a city election which, according to its Council-Manager charter, had no party labels at the polls for its Councilmen, School Board and Treasurer. Almost the entire Democratic slate won. In Waterbury the Republican plurality of 1951 was cut from 14,000 to less than 4,000. In Meriden a Democratic mayor won, and the City Council went Democratic for the first time since 1937. In Bridgeport, Jasper McLevy, the venerable Socialist (in name only), won handily. A Democrat nosed out the Republican as runner-up. Democrats again won in Stamford and had a two-to-one plurality over the Republicans in Norwalk although a Socialist won the mayoralty by a few votes.

In the face of this one-two punch in October and November it is somewhat difficult to see where the Democratic victory was "of no significance" except locally, as Republican State Chairman Clarence Baldwin stated it. In none of the cities were there any burning local issues at stake.

In retrospect, these factors stand out:

1. The Republicans at no time during the campaign seemed to be able to build up a head of steam. The old machinery ground along with none of the power it appeared to have last year.

2. A deep split between the Governor Lodge "liberals" and the old conservatives found its way right down to the ward level and dissipated a certain amount of enthusiasm.

3. The Democrats were far better organized than last year. The old antagonisms which counted in the defeat of Chester Bowles in 1950 all but disappeared.

4. More people voted the straight ticket this year than at any time since 1947.

5. In each of the cities, except Bridgeport, the campaign drives were spearheaded by a group of hard-working young Democrats ably counseled and encouraged by the "old hands" who showed a rather remarkable willingness to let the younger generation take over the reins. The candidates themselves were considerably younger than the Republican candidates on the whole. The Democratic rallies in New Haven and Hartford were packed with men and women who were mere children when FDR was first elected.

6. Leaders of the former Volunteers for Stevenson were found in the thick of the fight.

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Will the Republicans Learn from Defeat?

An embarrassing silence follows the question: "What has the party done for the people?"

by Wilfred E. Binkley

IT BEGINS to look as if it would be just about as practical for a President with no experience in the art of war to rush into the field in the midst of an active military campaign and assume personal command of the army as for a General, unfamiliar with the art of politics, to take charge of the Presidency in the midst of a critical period. Nor should this occasion the slightest astonishment to anyone familiar with history and politics. By this time, in the history of the American Presidency, it ought to be a settled axiom that, on the national level at any rate, the art of politics is altogether as difficult as the art of war, and neither is a game for amateurs. Only those who have undergone the discipline of a rigorous apprenticeship in politics, preferably from the precinct up, can qualify promptly to manage the Presidential office. Indeed, every President since the Civil War, who has, upon entering the great office, proceeded at once to perform his duties with a confident touch, had already acquired his political craftsmanship as a state Governor. Only one of these former Governors was rated below average in the Presidency by the 55 historians polled by Professor A. M. Schlesinger several years ago, and not one of the Presidents without gubernatorial experience was rated above average.

When one who is innocent of the art of politics and of political leadership becomes President and must start from scratch in acquiring that indispensable skill his handicap may become apparent even before Inauguration Day. In selecting his official family, his Cabinet for example, he may choose persons as inexpert in politics as the inexpert Chief Executive himself. What he needs above everything else is coaching and prompting but he cannot hope to get that from a group of advisers as inexperienced as he. Those Presidents who enter the great office with political aptitudes highly developed by the grilling experience of a state Governorship are already accustomed to deal with the pressures that politicians and interest groups quite normally and properly bring to bear upon a Chief Executive. These former Governors expect all this as simply a part of the day's work and so take it in stride. Presidents like Herbert Hoover, however, complain of having to wear a "hair shirt." Mr. Eisenhower is now being quoted as having told a recent visitor that he is getting "damned tired" of the pressures politicians bring to bear upon him in order to influence his decisions. Surely he did not expect the honeymoon to last four years. It is almost as if a General were to complain that he was getting damned tired of the noise of battle. The President will learn that these pressures are only beginning, that they are bound to increase, that postponing decisions will intensify pressures and that, in any case, they are only a normal part of any President's official life.

Despite the decline of President Eisenhower's popularity, as indicated by the Gallup poll, he still enjoys the confidence of a large majority of the American people. This, however, cannot be said of the Republican Party itself since opinion polls indicate that a majority of the voters professing party affiliation are still Democrats. In order to establish itself as a stabilized majority party, the Republican Party is under the necessity of relearning the grand strategy that formerly made it, for considerable periods, almost invincible. It means recapturing the loyalty of a majority of the electorate. This can be achieved in no other way than by a program adjusted to a prevailing set of social forces—that is, by appealing to groups in American society that, in a combination, constitute the electoral majorities that can make or break political parties.

It is not enough that this majority comes about through the accident of discontent with an incumbent administration or the glamour of a military figure. To be stable the Republican Party must have a program that can scarcely be integrated except through the forces that play upon the Presidency, that focal point of emerging national policies. Fortunate indeed is the party that has a Roosevelt, whether Theodore or Franklin, who can catch the drift of public sentiment, mobilize the groups that make themselves heard, dramatize the resulting program, and promote it with conviction and political skill. Such leaders are gifts of heaven to both the nation and party.

The Republican Party is plagued today with a reactionary wing still unaware that the current of social forces has wrought a revolution in American culture in the last quarter of a century. The war of these reactionaries against the *fait accompli* of this revolution is a phenomenon as outmoded and as fantastic as that of Sancho Panza solemnly tilting against the wind mills. This element is too weak to give their purpose the ghost of a

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chance of success, but they hamper the growth of a party struggling to accumulate the strength of a substantial majority party and needing consequently to attract a large fraction of the independent voters. The frustrations generated among Republicans by 20 years of Democratic rule led to a devil theory of politics—a theory of diabolical leaders—Roosevelt, Truman and Acheson—and of infernal policies—New Deal, Fair Deal, the Welfare State—and the invention of such epithets as "statism" and "creeping socialism" with which to exorcise the demons.

Imprecations have been used in vain for the simple reason that, whatever their merits or demerits, the New Deal, the Fair Deal and the Welfare State are the products of no demons but are instead the well-nigh inevitable consequence of the pressures of groups that Democratic leaders recognized, mobilized into electoral majorities, and thus held the reins of power for two decades. Now the Eisenhower Administration is discovering with apparent astonishment that sheer survival depends upon conforming to the same kind of forces that made the Democratic program practically what it had to be. This is not as comfortable as the superstitions of demonology in explaining current politics. And it cannot be ignored that there is a vast difference between the clairvoyance with which a gifted Roosevelt, whether the Republican or Democratic one, sees or even foresees what the public is bound to have and gets credit for translating the inevitable into emerging public policy—and on the other hand the lack of leadership that permits an administration to be pushed reluctantly, if not sullenly, into doing what the force of events and public opinion compels it to do. Time and again the American voters have demonstrated their conviction that the government exists to serve the people's desires and they will permit no would-be patricians to tell them what their political appetite ought to be.

Let us take a look at the patent evidence that the Eisenhower Administration is of necessity conforming to the same forces that determined the program of Democratic Administrations with a resulting Republican program approaching in similarity that of its immediate predecessors. Nor need we depend upon unfriendly witnesses for testimony. "Eisenhower, after nine months, is reversing the field" admits the *US News and World Report*. The resolute campaign promise to reduce the national debt cannot be fulfilled, so Congress was asked by the President to raise the national debt limit.

Moreover, the President was reduced to the necessity of insisting that Congress refrain from cutting the tax rates below those laid by an allegedly extravagant and irresponsible Democratic Congress. "The wanton extravagance and inflationary policies of the Administration in power," as the 1952 Republican platform put it in blistering Truman, was to be countered by tightening money which was done briefly, but the howls of injured real estate and other interests has resulted in revival of the Democratic policy of loose money. Bankers are now being urged by the Administration to be free with loans. Government, it is predicted by the conservative periodical quoted above, will move back deeper into the banking business. Abandoned already is the resolute earlier policy of converting the short-term debt into the long-term debt, and now the former is to grow just as it did under the Democrats.

Millions of crusading words about balancing the budget will now have to be eaten. Budget Director Dodge is admitting what Roosevelt and Truman maintained—that you can't balance the budget by firing people and

I've been sitting up with a sick trend.

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cutting out extravagance. Now that getting the budget balanced at a specified time in the foreseeable future has had to be given up, one hears repeated the explanations that once fell from Democratic lips—that it is not a matter of much consequence anyhow. No longer are Republicans frightened by an unbalanced budget. Indeed, it is almost being taken for granted.

The 1952 Republican platform charged "the Democratic Administration with seeking to destroy the farmer's freedom" and declared: "We do not believe in restrictions on the American farmer's ability to produce." This had to go out the window last summer. Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson's recommendation that farmers stand on their own feet has been followed by the almost inevitable revolt. It is being predicted by *US News and World Report* that "farmers will pretty much write their own ticket on subsidies." It is the individuals with the voting power rather than the corporations who will be favored in tax cuts, comments the same periodical. The aged are due for broader and probably more liberal pensions. Government that was to have grown smaller will probably grow larger even under a Republican President. "The Welfare State, instead of being narrowed will be broadened," laments our eminent journal. The disillusionment of the Eisenhower Administration, once in power, could have been predicted by any competent student of politics.

WHAT Republican and, indeed, American citizens generally seem to need is a more realistic conception of the almost necessary functioning of a workable two-party system in a democracy. For example, whenever a majority party wins an election and thereby displaces the party in power, it will almost inevitably be pressured in the direction of a program not radically different from that of the party it has just displaced. This is precisely what the Eisenhower Administration is now having forced upon it and it is learning the hard way. If it conforms reluctantly rather than enthusiastically it will be doomed and this is its great peril.

Sir Ivor Jennings, in his little book *The British Constitution,* explains the British two-party system in terms that could easily be paraphrased to fit our own. "The right-wing of the Labour Party," he writes, "is very, very close to the left-wing of the Conservative Party. . . . The large common element in party politics is due to the fact that both parties are angling for the same voters. The parties are able to angle for the same voters because they have a large common element. A Conservative can be almost a Socialist, a trade unionist can be a very good Conservative, because the parties are not fundamentally divergent in policy and both are appealing for the same votes." While the English rural areas are usually Conservative there has been a tendency for the wealthier agricultural areas to go Labour. Why not, since Labour, through subsidies, took care of the English farmer just as the Democratic Party took care of the American farmer, and now the Republican Party must do the same. Last summer when I was the guest of an Oxford University professor of agriculture who is sent now and then by the British ministry to Africa on missions concerning groundnut (peanut) projects or converting mangrove swamps into rice fields, he told me that England is now producing at home a surplus of beef and of milk, thanks to the subsidies to agriculture now, of course, provided by a Conservative government which must do for farmers as much as any Labour government. The Labour Party, once crusading ardently for more nationalization of industry, apparently went a bit too far and fast with nationalizing steel and, at its recent Margate meeting, toned down the nationalizing drive and so moved over in the direction of the Conservative position. Since the Conservatives accept most of the accomplished nationalization, it can be said that both parties are socialistic and the difference is a matter of more or less. The similarity of British party programs prevents such a shock as the Eisenhower counter-revolution which may soon give way to irresistible electoral pressure and gradually take on the coloration of the New Deal and Fair Deal.

About the last thing that astute leadership would do would be to tie the fortunes of a party to the opulent interests that can fill the party war chest but at the same time alienate great blocs of voters. The big utilities, utterly oblivious to their own overplaying of their hand in the hapless 1930s, may chuckle over a contract for a Columbia River dam that would upset a gigantic water conservation and electric power project. But the consequence is a stir in the industrial interests of a whole section and the portentous murmur of the electorate of the Northwest. It is now evident that beneficiaries of the Rural Electrification Administration are becoming week by week more concerned over the policies of the new Administration. And when Dean Clarence E. Manion, chairman of the Commission on Inter-Governmental Relationships, appointed by President Eisenhower, in the midst of a televised panel discussion, says emphatically and repeatedly that he does not believe in Lincoln's classic statement that the government should do for the people what they cannot do for themselves or that which they cannot do so well for themselves and then clinches his stand with the statement that the President knew his views when he appointed him, one wonders when if ever the depth of party ineptitude will be sounded.

There is a story circulating that emphasizes, as scarcely anything else can, the distorted structure of the Republican group combination. It would have been too preposterous in administrations of McKinley or Theodore Roosevelt for a Democratic orator to have paused in the midst of an address to ask whether anyone in his audience could name a single thing that the President had done for the common people. Alben Barkley is said to have got no reply when he sprang this question recently, nor can this be blandly disposed of as only the cheap trick of a politician. Why didn't the question provoke a riot of protest in the place of silence?

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE GERMAN NOVEL AT MID-CENTURY

by Ray B. West Jr.

WE WERE SITTING in an apartment in the Russian sector of Vienna. In the rooms above dwelt a Russian general and a Communist official. Present were a poet, a novelist, a publisher, and our hostess and her husband. Our hostess' husband, an attorney, had just returned from six years' imprisonment in Russia. At one point in the conversation, talk turned to the days of German occupation and to the "official litterateurs" sent out by the Nazis to propagate the party line—young men who had recently published novels and verse celebrating the Aryan virtues.

"Where are these novelists and poets now?" I asked.

My Austrian friends shrugged.

"Who can say," our host said. "They just disappeared."

"So many have disappeared," the novelist said. "In the 1930s it was the socialists, in the 1940s the Nazis. What can we say of ourselves? From what do we derive?"

"In a way, it's remarkable to have six people in one room who can talk about such things," the poet said. "In Vienna —in Germany—there are too many memories."

About the same time Alfred Andersch, a member of Werner Richter's *Gruppe 47*, was writing about German authors in the Frankfurter *Hefte*. "Maybe we have lost ten years," he said. "In that case it is just our destiny that we have lost them. In art one cannot make up for what has been missed." He continued, "It is impossible to express afterwards in a creative work the situation of foreign writers during the years 1933 to 1945. The poems Eliot wrote in those years," he said, "cannot be relived by us. In our art there will be expressed just this: that we read them too late."

In 1948 *Athena* of Berlin sent its readers a questionnaire, asking what authors best represented Germany. Hermann Hesse led with sixteen percent of the votes. Following were Thomas Mann, Melchior Vischer, and Ernst Weichert with fourteen percent. Among the remainder, in approximately the order listed, were Jochem Thiem, Werner Bergengruen, Hans Carossa, Rudolf Alexander, Carl Zuckmeyer, Bertolt Brecht, Erich Kaestner, Alfred Doeblin, Ernst Jünger, Heinrich Mann, Frank Thiess, and Elizabeth Langgasser.

This list represents a generation that has almost passed from the contemporary scene. The best works of these authors antedate Hitler. At least two of them who might have served as a bridge between pre-Nazi Germany and the present have died recently: Ernest Weichert and Elizabeth Langgasser.

It would be interesting to see the results of a similar questionnaire today, but it is doubtful that there would, even yet, be many young novelists on it. For a foreigner to say who the few might be would be presumptive and extremely risky. One must live longer than a year or two in a literary atmosphere before he can trust himself not to fall for fads or the promotion of cliques and literary reviews. It is not only that the proper emphasis will escape him; he is likely to confuse novelty with quality —and there is always novelty in a foreign literature. One must, however, risk certain generalizations, and mine would be as follows:

At first Franz Kafka's expression of the modern world as chaotic and accidental seemed to appeal to a generation which had experienced the terror and destruction of war. The result was such novels as Hermann Kosack's *The City Beyond the River* and Ernst Kreuder's *Those Who Cannot Be Found*. But the Kafka vogue was waning elsewhere by the time the young Germans rediscovered him. Kafka represents the end of an era, not the beginning. Young novelists still felt the need for explanation, but not as an end in itself. Their chief problem, especially in Germany, was reconstruction; and so they sought desperately for solutions.

Naturally, a generation who had known nothing but war had but a single subject. Kurt Ihlenfeld's *Winter Thunder*, which won a Berlin prize, portrayed the last days before the fall of Breslau. George Glaser's *Secret and Power* told the story of a young German Communist who fled to France before the Nazis and became a French soldier and citizen. Bruno Werner's *The Slaveship* recounted events from the burning of the Reichstag to the fall of Berlin. Albert Goes's *Unquiet Night* had as protagonist a chaplain experiencing the atrocities of war. Hans Richter's *The Vanquished* dealt with the defeat in Italy. Fritz Habeck's *The Boat Comes After Midnight* examined the disillusion of a German soldier in occupied France.

Novelists of a somewhat older, middle generation, such as Jünger, Thiess, Weichert, and Langgasser, attempted to discover what had happened to their country. Novelists of this youngest generation, who had known less of the concentration camps than they did of the Hitlerjugend and the army (even though most of them were classified as "politically unreliable"), examined themselves. When they looked beyond themselves, they did not so much return to the great figures of their own country, as they turned to France (and traditional Catholicism) or to America (and the primitive energy of Hemingway, Dos Passos, and Steinbeck). The only fresh note—and for an American it can often become an exciting one—exists in a heightened sense of Europe's desperate need for moral and political reform.

After the first war the arts in Germany became experimental. When I first visited Germany in 1927 the younger literary generation was the *avante garde*. Expressionism had become Bauhaus; Bauhaus had become surrealism. The tone since the second war has been very different. The first postwar period was one of rebellion against standards of the Hohenzollern-Hapsburg eras, anti-political (except for the Communists) and unconventional. In the second postwar period there has come a heightened respect for convention and a recognition of Europe's plight between America and Russia.

Take, for instance, two recent novels,

(*Continued on page 21*)

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SYMBOLIC SUBURBIA

SINCE it will leave newspaper reviewers in a state of superior bewilderment, this novel is likely to be tagged a parable; I think it more accurate to call it a catastrophe. About the best that can be said for *The Marmot Drive* is that Mr. Hersey has made an intense effort to shake off those journalistic mannerisms which marred his previous novels. But he has replaced them with a large repertoire of literary mannerisms, of the sort one finds in novels about crises in the suburbs. The two most dangerous temptations for ambitious novelists today are Rich Prose and Symbolism, and Mr. Hersey is in a fair way to having succumbed to both.

THE MARMOT DRIVE, by John Hersey (Knopf; $3.50).

Simply as writing *The Marmot Drive* is remarkable. Mr. Hersey's poetic style: a young man laughs "like a concupiscent rooster who feels his loins stir as the earth rolls to morning." Mr. Hersey's clever style: "Eben's mother . . . a woman with a face that seemed to be compounded of skim milk and strained virtue." Mr. Hersey's caustic style: his heroine, flirting with the wrong man, tries "with quick dry talk to make a eunuch of [him]." Mr. Hersey's contemplative style: "There was a mole on the side of his chin, a small black badge as impossible to hide or forget as grief." Mr. Hersey's philosophical style: "The houses were gathered together in townhood, but they seemed to insist upon their separateness, their privacy. . . ."

The central figure of the novel is Hester, a New York girl, bright, lively, restless. One summer weekend she visits the Connecticut town of Tunxis, where the family of her boy friend, Eben, is to look her over. Thus far the relationship between Hester and Eben has been, to her sense of things, alarmingly chaste, and she reaches Tunxis in a condition of aggressive uneasiness. Then begins her trial, the exposure of a fundamentally innocent mind to those local hatreds and passions which go so deep into the past of the town that a stranger caught among them can only suffer in silence.

For some years Tunxis has been pestered by invasions of marmots, and now Matthew Avered, Eben's father and the Town Selectman, proposes a drive to destroy the animals. When the ceremony-chase is over, few marmots have been found, which suggests that the threat may have been imaginary, but meanwhile the more destructive impulses of the hunters have been released. The elder Avered has come dangerously close to making a pass at Hester—his restraint disappoints her; and at the end, when the townsmen propose to give him "a light public whippin'" as scourge for his private misdemeanor, he meekly accepts it in the mistaken belief that he is being punished for his public failure. Appalled, Hester flees, overcome by a sense of failure.

Mr. Hersey apparently had some symbolic scheme in mind when he wrote this story. At first I thought it might be a political symbolism: the marmots suddenly become aggressively imperialist, one Tunxis citizen suggests that "the trouble had begun . . . during the last century, when the railroad had been put in" and adds that "they calculate Tunxis is on the wane . . . they're movin' in on us." But the not very arresting possibility that Mr. Hersey intends a comment on the times soon loses its force; and when we are told that Aunty Dorcas, a spry thing of ninety-one, has killed a hawk with her own hands (or does she just imagine she has?) we know we are on the familiar, slippery symbolic ground of private impulse, dominating will and—who would dare doubt it?—Good and Evil.

But it hardly matters what the symbolic scheme of the book is, whether an oblique topical reference or a reworking of a Greek myth or anything else. For what is the point of investigating a novel's symbolic dimension or possible moral significance when on the plane of represented life, its play of action and character, it is entirely flimsy and boring? The major characters dissolve into a stream of anxieties and musings, the minor ones are ferociously eccentric; and neither matter.

IRVING HOWE

THE ELDER LODGE

THREE BIOGRAPHIES of the elder Lodge appeared before this one, but in Mr. Garraty's opinion two are over-friendly, the other too unfriendly; so he set himself to produce a study that should be neither friendly nor unfriendly, but strictly analytical. In the opinion of the younger Henry Cabot Lodge he was not entirely successful for the Ambassador in a series of footnotes takes strong exception to some of Mr. Garraty's judgments of his grandfather.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, by John A. Garraty (Knopf; $6).

Equally strong exceptions might be taken by Wilsonians to certain other judgments, and above all to the glossing over of two episodes in Lodge's career—his effort to induce Henry White to betray Wilson at Paris, and his interview with the dying Theodore Roosevelt at which the pair of them conspired to defeat any treaty that Wilson might bring back, and that before the peace conference had assembled. Gliding over these two exhibitions of irresponsibility is rather like writing about Aaron Burr and gliding over the fact that he shot Alexander Hamilton.

However, the very fact that he is open to attack from both sides is presumptive evidence that the biographer has made an honest effort to follow the middle of the road. What he offers is probably a fair approximation of the truth about Lodge; certainly it accounts for him more plausibly than any prior effort. Mr. Garraty has built up a complex, fascinating, and somewhat alarming personality that could be the celebrated Senator from Massachusetts.

He has small patience with Karl Schriftgiesser's all-out attack on Lodge, yet it seems to this reader that his own book is more destructive than Schriftgiesser's. The latter offered the world a villain; Garraty offers it a gentleman *manqué*, and Brahmin Boston may be right in its opinion that a defective gentleman is worse by far than a straightout roughneck.

According to Garraty it all goes back to the campaign of 1884 when a cynical gang of bosses steam-rolled the decent element in the Republican party and nominated James G. Blaine for President. Lodge, a member of the Beacon Hill aristocracy, opposed Blaine, of course; but he wanted to go to Congress, so once the Tattooed Man was nominated, Lodge swallowed his principles and supported him, although most of his respectable friends gagged and either refused to vote or voted for the Democrat, Cleveland.

There followed a certain social ostracism which Lodge resented bitterly, and his resentment led him to make a fetish of party loyalty. Instead of apologizing for what he had done, he flaunted it and demanded apologies of those who put principle above party. Getting biting

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scorn instead, he grew constantly more bitter and constantly more arrogant.

Since he was an astute politician and a man of tremendous energy he battled his way to a seat in the Senate and held it for thirty years; but there were certain houses in Boston to which he was never invited again, and the knowledge rankled. So he became, next to John Randolph of Roanoke, the most tremendous hater in American political history. Inevitably his bitterest hatred was reserved for any man who had not truckled to political bosses but had succeeded anyhow. His former friend John F. Andrew, who bolted Blaine and yet served two terms in Congress, was a case in point.

Mr. Garraty makes little of it, but surely Woodrow Wilson's spectacular defiance of the New Jersey bosses must have had something to do with Lodge's initial distaste for Wilson, for it was, by contrast, a reflection on Lodge. Yet more important, no doubt, was the fact that both men were intellectually arrogant, both inflexible, and one committed to the democratic the other to the aristocratic point of view. A collision was probably inevitable.

The climax of the narrative is, of course, the fight against the League of Nations. Mr. Garraty adds nothing startling to what was already common knowledge about this tragedy, but he does a beautiful job of compressing the enormously complicated story into relatively few pages without losing anything essential; and at that he makes room for an extensive rebuttal by Ambassador Lodge.

When all is said and done, though, the story of Henry Cabot Lodge the elder is this: here was a man with every advantage that wealth, birth, education and influential friends could give, who undertook to make a career in statecraft; he was a man of great ability and inexhaustible energy, so he achieved a position of power that made him a major statesman; and his contribution to the republic may fairly be judged by the facts that when he was young he tried to make Blaine, and when he was old he did help make Harding President of the United States.

Mr. Garraty's industry is downright appalling; his command of the language is excellent; his honesty is patent. All these contribute to a book that is an ornament of American scholarship, and the best case for his hero that can be made by a man who respects the truth. But with all that, the conclusion of the whole matter is that a politician of extraordinary ability is not necessarily God's gift to a nation; he may be a calamity—witness Aaron Burr, Randolph, Calhoun and Lodge.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

A SPATE OF FICTION

THE FORM of fiction that most resembles poetry in the economy with which it communicates insight is well represented by these recent collections of short stories by Martha Gellhorn, Charles Jackson, and Mark Van Doren. At his best each of these writers (as Charles Jackson puts it in his interesting introductory essay about the short story) conveys to the reader "an awareness . . . to which he has been blind before." Naturally, as Charles Jackson admits and the other two would, partial failure is more common than total success in the stories these gifted writers have collected. A good short story is quite as difficult to write as a good poem. One might as well ask for all good poems from W. H. Auden as ask Mr. Van Doren, Miss Gellhorn, and Mr. Jackson to always or ever rise to the level of "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" or "Death in Venice."

THE HONEYED PEACE, by Martha Gellhorn (Doubleday; $3.50). EARTHLY CREATURES, by Charles Jackson (Farrar, Straus, and Young; $1.50). NOBODY SAY A WORD, by Mark Van Doren (Holt; $3.50).

Conditioned by experience and talent, each of these writers tries to transform what he has seen, and done and imagined into an art that is peculiarly his own. Miss Gellhorn, who has traveled with trouble almost as frequently as the unknown reporter who gets everywhere, finds her material in misplaced persons political conditions have forced to show valor, cowardice, or just ordinary humanity. Nine of her ten stories are about Europeans or Americans involved in the complex inter-hates of the Cold War or the last war. A gallant French-woman who loyally and uncomprehendingly loves a collaborationist, a German who can't abide the Nazis because they hate Heine, an Englishwoman who cannot understand Italian sexual morality, an American who has his life's prejudices formed by an evening with some Polish expatriates—these are representative of the characters Miss Gellhorn reveals through interesting action. All of her ten stories, even including her dubiously accurate portrait of a writer who is his own psychiatrist, are readable; only four of them seem to me to be good.

A good story is a rarity even in the little magazines. It involves unusual insight and technical skill. I think Miss Gellhorn's "Exile," about a little German's unhappy repatriation in America; her "Miami—New York," about a thirty-seven year old woman's truncated affair with a twenty-four year old soldier, and her *"Le Voyage Forme la Jeunesse,"* of a thoughtless American who emerges from his experiences in Rome forever set in a mould of pleasant stupidity, are good stories. This is a high compliment if one doesn't make with the adjectives like Hollywood. It is necessary to add that even in these stories Miss Gellhorn is sometimes too reportorial and that her style sometimes resembles that of her former husband too closely.

Mr. Jackson, who like Miss Gellhorn seems a bit too slick upon occasion, almost disarms criticism by his candor about the deficiencies of the short stories in *Earthly Creatures*. In his introduction, he says he likes "The Boy Who Ran Away," and "Money." Since he allows them to be printed he hopes the other nine will appeal to some people as they have to some magazine editors, wonders whether his judgment is right about the two he preferred. I think "The Boy Who Ran Away," the tale of a weakly masculine man who takes it out on those who resemble him, a good if slightly overemphatic story, "Money" a mediocre telling of why a poor man doesn't want to borrow from a rich woman. His best story is "The Sleeper Awakened," which vividly dramatizes the fantasies of a virginal woman who can't stand the masculine noises she does not hear in the next room. The rest are better than most short fiction that deals with the natural modern preoccupation with neuroses.

As his novels about homosexuality, crime and dypsomania adequately prove, Mr. Jackson both knows Freudian psychology and can transfer it into fiction the common reader can enjoy and benefit from. Mr. Jackson hasn't written as profoundly of our perpetual problem of "becoming used to not being used" as Thomas Mann has, but he writes honorably and well. He has fulfilled his wish of thirteen years ago that his

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stories should "hold the reader's interest and . . . tell him something about other people and maybe even about himself."

Mr. Van Doren's short stories succeed or fail almost too unostentatiously (like his poems) in telling the reader something about other people or himself. His thirty-three are short, at their best approach the quality of his poetry, at their worst are altogether banal. Why a writer who writes beautifully of Dante, Shakespeare, and Dryden chose "Nobody Say a Word," an ordinary story of a husband's desertion and return, as the title story is difficult to understand. But his (I think) mistaken choice makes little more difference than the inescapable appearance of a good number of mediocre stories among so many.

The best of the thirteen good stories in this collection are "God Has No Wife," "Grandison and Son," "I, Tobit," "The Butterfly," and "The Princess Who Couldn't Say Yes." The quiet, vivid telling of Mr. Van Doren may not appeal to as many readers as that of Mr. Jackson and Miss Gellhorn. Like them, he insists upon using words accurately but he never resorts to underlining or overemphasis as they sometimes do. He does not have a fashionable subject such as unhappy people in a mismanaged world or neurotic people in a world psychoanalysis might make better. He is aware of the contemporary mess and comprehends psychology but he forces his awareness of both of them into the background.

"God Has No Wife" shows a man's comprehension of a friend's feeling of guilt towards him by his recollection of the guilt he once felt before his mother. "Grandison and Son" is about a pressing father who dooms his son to failure. "I, Tobit" tells of an old man who follows Biblical morality today, "The Butterfly" is of the calm facing of death, "The Princess Who Couldn't Say Yes" is simply and delightfully a fairy story for adults. Nothing spectacular, you see, but Mr. Van Doren's insight goes deep and his craft is equal to its communication. Unfairly I segregate five of thirteen, perhaps unfairly segregate thirteen from thirty-three, but it is indubitable that Mr. Van Doren, with all his unostentious avoidance of timeliness manages even better than Miss Gellhorn and Mr. Jackson, who are too frequently compulsively contemporaneous.

HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER

WRIGHT IN NEW YORK

by Lionel Brett

THIS extraordinary show, housed in a shed designed by the architect on the site of the projected Guggenheim Museum on Fifth Avenue, dusty, disorganized, flamboyantly un-*chic*, raises straight away a whole set of problems of definition. What, for instance, is a great man? Frank Lloyd Wright is the first architect in history (among a host of other kinds of artists) to wear the Tennysonian mantle. He has taken no chances on being blackballed by buying up the club, through which he stalks, upright, leonine, devastating, followed by the faithful collecting witticisms. All this, in a profession which once consisted mainly of quiet craftsmen and now consists mainly of quiet technicians, was a bold stroke, asking for trouble, portending a slump, some day, of really Tennysonian proportions. Even now, the insistent claim to have been first by miles with every "modern" innovation worth having must create some little resistance in anyone not used to it. So that it seems necessary to say quite firmly, at the start, that stripped of all humbug and allowing for the qualifications I must immediately make, Wright's greatness, defined as extreme historical significance, looks as firmly established as ever, and in no need at all of the re-emphasis it gets at this retrospective exhibition.

But, to begin with, his work is quite remarkably uneven. He lacks (and here we are again involved in definitions) Taste. Now it is easy to be funny about what Wright himself calls "this self-satisfied superficial bugaboo of 'cultivated' taste." European artists, many of whom (as is normal in declining cultures) possess it to the exclusion of everything else, generally over-rate it; and its virtual exclusion from every vital influence on the American scene is a pretty sure indication of America's continued vitality. Still, taste has one advantage: it is a great labor-saver. Frank Lloyd Wright is in nothing more American than in the wasteful prodigality of his productive method, which has involved him over and over again in elaborate exploration of aesthetic dead-ends. These are often of curious interest, but one would gladly trade their coverage in this exhibition for a fuller, easier-to-read representation of his really important work.

If any one will-o'-the-wisp can be said to have led him astray, it is his obsession (confessedly based on his Froebel training) with elementary schoolroom geometry. The square, the circle, the triangle, the hexagon, have a fatal, almost mystic, significance for him, which he explores with a sort of dumb ingenuity contrasting sadly with the geometric subtleties of Lutyens and Le Corbusier —let alone the great Renaissance masters. An extraordinary decoration of rather soiled glass bubbles in assorted sizes floating in water, whose forms are repeated in many of the drawings and models on show, needs analyzing by someone with the space and qualifications. One thing has to be said about all the designs conceived in terms of simple geometrical figures: they are strictly, by definition, inorganic.

This contradiction between the Master's practice and his preaching brings me to a final general criticism which is not easy to express. A great deal of the work exhibited in New York must strike the spectator as being somehow at one remove from life. The designer has fallen in love with his design, in love with a phantom figure, and married it without thought of the years ahead. "Broadacre City," for instance, is a lovely abstract, as decorative as a Ben Nicholson, but if one looks closely at it in an effort to imagine what it would really be like to walk about in, one finds that almost the only solid things around are belts of trees, rectangularized in typical Wrightian fashion. The buildings hardly exist; the phantom dissolves. Even the models of individual buildings are treated as sculpture in their own right, with vegetation conventionalized into slabs and circles. If we add to this some characteristic Whitmanesque inconsistencies—the cantilevered brick fireplace of the full-size "Usonia" house and its mullioned plate-glass windows meeting at a mitred joint are hardly "in the nature of materials"—we have to take it that at times Mr. Wright is merely exercising genius's right to make fun of clients, critics and the rest of the Philistine world. Indeed the whole exhibition, overcrowded, mazelike, inconsequential, has more than a touch of *je m'en foutisme* about it—as it can afford to have. The full-size, more-or-less faithful, reproduction of the first (1900) modern house in America is a certain selling-point, apart from its author's unique achievement.

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One cannot fully here re-assess what Frank Lloyd Wright, over his superhuman span, has done for architecture. But briefly, it has been done not so much by the straight-thinking boldness of his great prairie houses, not by the lithe grace of "Falling Water" or the brilliance of the Johnson buildings, not by the poetry of the two Taliesins or the advocacy of those who have worked there, but by something in his personality. To those who heard his personal "Declaration of Independence" in the thirties, "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive But to be young was very heaven."

If Le Corbusier was the Voltaire of the modern movement, Wright was its Rousseau, addressing himself particularly to simple Anglo-Saxon minds which found Le Corbusier (in translated writings and inferior photographs) chilly and highbrow. The Wrightian appeal was part of the persistent siren song of escape from politics, education, taste, culture, academies, with which America (often through the mouths of emigrés like D. H. Lawrence and Aldous Huxley), in those far-off irresponsible days distracted the attention of neurotic Europe. "We *know*," he said, "that life is to be trusted. We *know* that the *interpretation* of life is the true function of the architect because we know that buildings are made for life, to be lived in and to be lived in happily" . . . "any building which is built should love the ground on which it stands." Or on a more specifically Usonian note:

> Spaciousness is the great modern opportunity . . . human scale is grown entirely different and we no longer need—nor will we—live on little plots of ground with our toes in the street and a little backyard behind us with a few plants in it, shaking hands out of the window on either side with neighbours good and bad.

Life, love, space: that was the message; and I have felt it necessary to recall it because somehow it does not ring as clearly on Fifth Avenue as it used to do. After all, these are big words to express in building, and in too much of Frank Lloyd Wright's enormous output they have been overlaid by ingenuity, naughtiness, eccentricity. Only in his great moments was he able to transcend these distractions, and prove (as he told an awed student audience in London) that "True architecture, my noble lords ladies and gentlemen, is poetry."

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THE RECORD REVIEW

A SONG RECITAL BY KIRSTEN FLAGSTAD (RCA Victor).

The many people who regretted Mme. Flagstad's dignified but wholly un-called-for retirement will, of course, want this recording, which is a faithful representation of her voice at its dazzling, perfect best. In this recording she demonstrates the musicianship of a Lotte Lehmann, but she sings with a voice which, because it must never have been abused, has a youthful freshness that one rarely hears from the great *lieder* singers. The recital includes the best interpretation you can hope to hear of Schumann's *Frauenliebe und Leben,* as well as rich, un-hackneyed songs by Schubert, Brahms and Strauss. It ends with four poorly chosen American light classics, which can be ignored; Edwin McArthur's piano accompaniment is not really adequate, and in the Strauss songs is embarrassingly shabby. But considering the beauty of the German songs and the voice which sings them, the negative handicaps are minor. Until somebody coaxes Flagstad out of retirement, these recordings will have to do, and we can all be glad that they are so good.

EL RETABLO DE MAESE PEDRO, by Manuel de Falla (SPA).

Like so many modern operas, this de Falla one-acter, which employs only three singers and is meant for a large cast of puppets as well, makes poor use of human voices. Fortunately, there is very little singing and a great deal of attractive, well made orchestral music, so that the declamation, dull as it must be, is not really objectionable. The Vienna Philharmonia Orchestra, conducted by F. Charles Adler, sounds fine, and the recording is very good, as is the Spanish diction. The text and a translation are provided with the record.

VARIATIONS ON A MERRY THEME (OF JOHN HILLER), by Max Reger (SPA).

The Hiller Variations give us Max Reger at his tedious worst: Brahms, whose influence determined the style of the composition, would never have been guilty of such bad timing, and Richard Strauss, who doubtless inspired the rich orchestration, would have surely been more brilliant. Nonetheless, the variations give us some insight into Reger's craftsmanship, the expertness which gives so much charm to his less ambitious work. Reger is not to be despised, and F. Charles Adler's recording of his Variations with the Philharmonic Orchestra of Vienna is excellent, if dull.

GREAT ARIAS FROM THE CANTATAS, by J. S. Bach (Vanguard).

The arias, selected from previously recorded Cantatas, which the publishers have issued in this recording, are undeniably "great," and the singers—Hildgarde Rossl-Majdan and Hugues Cuenod—are well equipped, vocally to sing them. Three orchestras and conductors, not all of them equally good, provide accompaniment. The selection of pieces, however, has provided the minimum of contrast, and Miss Rossl-Majdan's are free to the point of being a serious misrepresentation. In addition to the arias, there are some recitatives which are much too sustained to be taken out of context. Bach-lovers should approach this one with caution.

ROBERT EVETT

(West, continued from page 16)

of Life and Fritz Habeck's *The Dance of the Seven Devils.* Both utilize historical settings to project problems of contemporary Europe, Rombach's work being concerned with the wars with the Huguenots, Habeck's with the Hundred Years War. Both novels consider the rights and obligations of the individual caught between powerful impersonal forces. As a reflection of the problems facing any European, Habeck's work is particularly effective. Technically, its picaresque and romantic surface may not represent a final solution to the problem of monotony in much of the pseudo-realistic war fiction, but it is a method which combines the traditional and the novel. It represents at least one means of expressing aesthetic and political awareness, qualities which must be central in any significant work dealing with contemporary Europe.

Much could be—and has been—written about the political attitudes of present-day Germany, but perhaps the most hopeful single thing to be noted, in respect to young German writers, is the absence of a strong, traditional nationalism. The young German novelist tends to think of himself as a European as much as a German; although, to be sure, it is often the attitude of the prodigal son who has returned only recently to the bosom of an upset family.

Notes on the Critics

RAY B. WEST JR. teaches at the University of Iowa. IRVING HOWE is the author of *William Faulkner: a critical study.* HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER teaches at the University of Louisville. LIONEL BRETT is architect and town planner for Hatfield, England, a city of 50,000 population.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S HEBREW HISTORY

by Louis Wallis

Young people in college and high school have easy access to scholarly books on the history of non-Hebrew nations; but they are kept from knowing what scholarship has discovered about Hebrew history. This appalling cultural situation is the outcome of a hush-hush policy which permits the general public to carry in mind a fantastic, artificial idea of the Jewish historical background.

From Harvard University, the Chairman of the Semitic Department writes as follows to the author of this new book on Hebrew history for young people:—"You have brilliantly clarified a very complex and often obscure situation. The conflict between Baalism and Yahwism, involving a struggle for social justice, and the conflict between Ephraim and Judah, are shown in your admirable summary to have been basic in Hebrew history. At the same time, the reader learns many a lesson of great value for solving the problems of our own day."

(Signed) Robert H. Pfeiffer.

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From Our Readers

► Encyclopedia Americana

The article on the Inquisition, by the famous historian G. G. Coulton, in the *Encyclopedia Americana*, lists the main characteristics of inquisitorial procedure. They are so strikingly relevant to our present situation that *NR* readers might be interested. I suppose the totalitarian impulses take pretty much the same patterns wherever and whenever they appear. Here (from vol. 15, p. 147 c) is Coulton's summary:

1. The fundamental bias has already been described, the man was *defamatus*, and bore the burden of proving his innocence.
2. His judges were purely ecclesiastical, and therefore prejudiced against him: the civil power strove vainly to secure even the right of consulting the documents.
3. The procedure was secret.
4. As a rule, the names of witnesses were also concealed; they might be partial or even infamous persons, yet the suspect had no chance of challenging them but at random.
5. In fact, infamous persons were explicitly admitted to testify though in other courts their testimony was altogether refused.
6. So, again, children were admitted to testify adversely . . .
7. Advocates were at first allowed, but if the person was proved guilty, the advocate had to share his punishment. . . .
8. It was equally hopeless to rely upon favorable witnesses; for they were pretty sure to get into trouble as abettors of heresy.
9. Torture might be inflicted not only on the suspect, but also upon any witnesses whom it was hoped to enlist for the prosecution.
10. This had, in practice, no legal limits. . . .
11. A very small nonconformity might be magnified into a deadly crime.
12. The medieval Inquisitor pushed in where the pagan of ancient Rome had disdained to tread. . . . Every man was bound in strict conscience to spy upon and denounce his neighbor.
13. There were other rigors, of which the result is that an acquittal, pure and simple, is almost unread of in these records. Very seldom was there less punishment than the yellow Crosses of Infamy, about a foot long, to be worn night and day upon every garment but the shirt, which held the victim up to the mockery of the multitude.

Today the church deprecates these excesses. But the lesson for us is that the inquisitorial spirit reigned in Europe for at least 400 years, that its techniques and objectives are being revived today, and not only on the wrong side of the Communist fence. The symptoms are clear and the disease is known. So is the cure—as before, it requires the re-assertion of the inalienable value of the individual, and the opening of new frontiers.

Chicago, Ill. HENRY HOGBEN

► Richard Eberhart

Excuse me if I'm stupid, inept, gauche and *derrière-garde*. (This last connotes my meaning better than *arrière-garde*.) But is there any chance of getting together Messrs. Delmore Schwartz and Richard Eberhart for a quiet conference on the art of reviewing poetry?

I refer to your November 2 issue, where Mr. Schwartz communicated clearly to me his ideas on Conrad Aiken's poetry and where Mr. Eberhart delighted me with a soliloquizing prose-poem — which fortunately for me included a code containing a few incidental remarks about Jean Garrigue's latest volume. Since I am thick-headed and victimized by prejudices about reviewing which probably antedate Queen Ann's age, the likelihood is that I am unable to respond rightly to Mr. Eberhart's charming little jest. If so, I submit, derriere unguarded, and take my punishment.

If not . . . Well, I submit that I measured Mr. Eberhart's piece: it came out 9½ inches prose-poem and 4¼ inches review. Were the 9½ inches intended to induce the proper mood for my involvement in the remaining 4¼? Involved I certainly did become!

Don't get me wrong. I like Mr. Eberhart. I'm awfully glad he took that trip and invited me to relive with him its beauties. I'm also glad he is a poet. I'm more than glad he behaves like a poet. I rejoice that he makes analogies—as did Keats—between traveling and responding to poetry. I want to see Mr. Eberhart publish his poetry. I want him to continue to write for the *New Republic*. But for old moss-back readers like me who sometimes suffer from confusion *des genres*, could you make a new arrangement: give Mr. Eberhart one column to poetize in and a column alongside it for his review?

RICHARD BENNETT HOVEY

Philadelphia, Pa.

► The Mau Mau Terror

"I have read your magazine for years, first in my parents' home, and now in my own. I have always enjoyed it; it has always made me think. Now it has made me feel.

In your Oct. 19 issue, Daniel Friedenberg, writing of the Mau Mau terror, left me trembling and stirred. It was not just the subject of his article—it was his style. Please, please let us have more of this man.

Wautaugh, L. I., N. Y. MRS. I. KRUGER

I could not resist lauding you on Daniel Friedenberg's excellent article, "The Mau Mau Terror," positively the best piece on Kenya I have yet read. Its sense of immediacy and its balanced picture of the cauldron that is Kenya should do much to dispel the many misconceptions of what is happening in that sorry country today.

New York City GEORGE MURRAY

► "Eisenhower Democrats"

NR has, in my opinion, been doing a splendid and necessary job. I would not be without it. I admire specifically your editorials in their general level and content.

(Continued on page 23)

ONLY 32 MORE SHOPPING DAYS TILL CHRISTMAS

This year give NEW REPUBLIC

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) of the New Republic published weekly at Washington, D. C., for Oct. 1, 1952.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are
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5. The average number of copies of each issue of the publications sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was 30,661.

ALLEN E. AIRD
Signature of business manager
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of October, 1953.
NORMAN WEINER, Notary Public. My commission expires March 30, 1955.

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To Our Readers

McCarthy's great campaign began in a casual manner in Wheeling, West Virginia. The Eisenhower-Brownell campaign seems to be following the same pattern. It promises bigger things, with all the weight of the executive power placed behind it. And yet I suspect that Eisenhower has forgotten two lessons that I learned again in Texas. The first is that the great majority of Americans believe in fairness; the second is that there is no compromise with the few who do not.

I realized traveling through the country, that, for the moment, the pressure on the President is coming from the Right rather than from the Left. I felt this pressure in meetings where I spoke on the threat of war. In the front row of one meeting, taking notes, was John Rogge who, backed by the Minute Women, had run George Ebey, Superintendent of Schools, out of Houston on a rail. I argued about Ebey whom I knew well, as a loyal and fine American. But Rogge was not there to argue. Tearing a single sentence from three hours of testimony by myself in opposition to the Mundt-Nixon bill, he tied me to the Communists. The knot slipped, but there was no common ground.

These are the men to whom Eisenhower is turning—powerful, but unrepresentative in their hatreds and closed minds.

I spoke to the members of Kiwanis in Austin, and winking sideways, Fagan Dickson introduced me as "a real live member of the ADA." The symbol was sharp and alien, and laughing, I waited for the worst. But when the meeting was over, most of the businessmen there came up and said "We agree!"

I spoke to a group of businessmen in San Antonio. I reminded them that the adversary was external and not within America, and I suggested that Americans even when they disagree should treat each other's views with respect. The San Antonio *News* called the meeting "a successful if admittedly controlled experiment in human relations."

These are the experiences that prove to the traveler that labels run wide but not very deep in America; that beneath slogans, accepted without thought, lie open and inquiring minds; above all that Americans are governed by fairness and common sense. For a time they may respond to divisive leadership. But they will not think evil of men they can see and hear and understand. They will not be fobbed off with cries of Communist when real issues arise or real grievances are felt. And before long they will regroup themselves around men who speak with America's affirmative voice. ***m.s.***

LETTERS

(Continued from page 22)

It is easy for the best of us to slip into the use of clichés, sometimes uncomplimentary and sometimes inaccurate besides. I feel impelled to mention what seems to me to be an instance of this in the editorial of your November 2 issue, wherein you refer to Virginia's Governor John S. Battle as a "fanatic Dixiecrat."

I do not know of any precise definition of "Dixiecrat," but I believe virtually all of those to whom the term usually is applied were "Eisenhower Democrats" last November. Governor Battle, however, in contrast with Senator Byrd and ex-Governor Tuck, was actively and outspokenly for Stevenson.

As for the term "fanatic," which can be more precisely defined, surely Governor Battle is anything but. I know of nothing extreme or unreasoning in any views which he holds, nor in his mode of expressing or implementing them. His administration has been "progressive-conservative," and far from displeasing even to some who would prefer more progress and somewhat less conservatism.

It perhaps should be added that my comments are those of one who worked actively in the 1949 Democratic primary for Col. Francis Pickens Miller, a more liberal leader who nearly defeated Mr. Battle; and even with enhanced respect for the present Governor, I would do the same again.

Danville, Va. TOM IRVING GILL

Bandwagon

Circuit Judge J. B. Pruitt of Anderson [S.C.] sentenced Robert Edward Newman, 23 to two years imprisonment after he changed his plea to guilty of manslaughter in a murder trial that began today in Greenville County Court.

Newman, a carnival worker, was accused of stabbing Joe Cunningham, a Negro, to death in a drinking party April 17.

Judge Pruitt said he thought Newman should serve some time for associating with Negroes.

"God made us different," the judge said: "He could have found some white people to associate with." The judge emphasized that he had respect for the Negro race. – *The Boston Daily Globe, October 29, 1953.*

Test is on to see whether psychology can check a downturn.

Cattle markets are the laboratory in which official optimism is getting a tryout as a prop for prices.

Even if the experiment fails, the Administration still has reason to like the results. If the country can't talk itself out of a downturn, maybe it can't talk itself into one, either. – *U.S. News & World Report, November 6, 1952.*

Senator McCarthy expressed his election views to reporters at the Federal Courthouse here. . . .

His opinion of Robert F. Wagner Jr., elected Mayor of New York in a Democratic landslide, was benevolent. He said it was significant that Mr. Wagner had not raised the issue of McCarthyism during the campaign.

"He is apparently a very nice fellow," Mr. McCarthy said. – *The New York Times, November 5, 1953.*

Members of the Franco- American War Veterans will be "Mister" to each other from now on as a result of a resolution passed yesterday at the final session of their annual national convention at the Crown Hotel.

Traditionally, members have addressed each other as "Comrade," but the unanimous resolution states Communist use of the word has cast such a "stigma" on it that the official form of address is now "Mister." – *The Providence Journal, October 12, 1953.*

If you are the man who is driving an expensive foreign car and your wife owns a platinum mink, or if the trials of pioneering are a joy to you, you will want to be the first in your set to own color television. – *An advertisement for Magnavox in the New York Times, November 1, 1953.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS.

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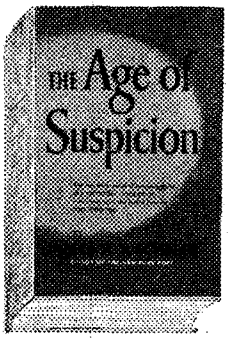

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